1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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A tribe coming from the north like the Masai, and possibly at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt, may conceivably represent not an improvement of the primaeval African stock but a degeneration of some other race. Still, the accounts which we have of the Bari and Dinka ascribe to them the same vague belief in a supernatural power, which most inquirers have reported as existing among the Masai, and an absence of traditions respecting the origin of the human race[1].

The history of the Masai, so far as we know it for the last hundred years, presents as its most important feature a conflict between the pastoral and agricultural sections, ending in the victory of the former and the annihilation of large settlements of the latter. The conflict was disastrous for the race, for the portion which survived depended entirely on cattle and raiding for subsistence. The herds suffered severely from plague in the eighties, and the advent of Europeans and the gradual introduction of the Pax Britannica could not be otherwise than unfavourable to the pre-eminence of a tribe whose prosperity depended so largely on continually plundering their neighbours. Nevertheless from at least 1830 to the early eighties the pastoral Masai were a formidable power in East Africa. They successfully asserted themselves against the Arab slave-traders, took tribute from all who passed through their country, and treated other races, whether African or not, with the greatest arrogance. About 1833 they raided Vanga, on the coast near the present German frontier. Thomson (*Through Masai Land*, 1887) describes how, in 1883, they entered his camp and ordered about the whole caravan, including himself, as if they had been masters and the travellers slaves. This period of triumph was succeeded by one of disaster. Rinderpest attacked the cattle and small-pox human beings. The surrounding tribes who had suffered from their raids were not slow to revenge themselves for the oppression and plunder of the past, and a severe famine completed the catalogue of misfortune. The numbers of the Masai were undoubtedly greatly reduced, and at present those found in British East Africa only amount to a very modest figure, variously estimated at from 25,000 to 12,500. The latter estimate, which is the latest and perhaps the most correct, is based on the assumption that there are 3,500 in the

[1] See Hillebrandt, *Die Dinka-Sprache*, 1888, p. 48, &c. It is true that some expressions ascribed to the Dinka such as "We do not know—the wise man knows," might be interpreted as a consciousness of the law of conditions.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Naivasha province and zone between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro.

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Galla and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1830 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brothers were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Ravinnai at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called L-Odgelia or Sogoli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1883, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia visited some other Masai near Nairobi about 1850 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren.

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Engaruai, the Durbonjo, and perhaps the people of Sambura in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning plains. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kapotei (Kapiti plains), Ilo-sigirua (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and L-Arikipiyak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, these two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[1] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[2] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[3]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 182,781. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Ibid.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,435, the other Masai 67,201. In 1951 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 92, 145.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njemps) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as HOLLIS remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[1] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 201.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 197.

[3] In this connection see the article of L. FISCHER, in *Africa*, 18, pp. 48 ss.

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose spheres of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Oloibon," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 324-326, and it is unnecessary to quote here in haste, but it may be mentioned that Wheatson, who died about 1860, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, on his death, of his son Sapa, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which might have easily been taken to rectify.

The Masai

The Laibon

The journey displayed by the pastoral Masai "Morans" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their countless activity in following the paths made thereby have denuded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually European penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their herds and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 300,000 when the cattle which were attempting to move south had been thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 200,000 head were counted. By March 1914 all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 400,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. S. W. Dunstall, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their stock, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,000 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the erosion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be affected by disease and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains unoccupied on that account, no attempt having been made to utilize veterinary skill and treatment in combating that cattle pestilence from the disease. With the exception of these areas, the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 40,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £10 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest non-literal tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of material labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages or do the merchants of other tribes. They entrust that to men and wife, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock.

The Masai of Amboseli

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

On the night, dated the 3rd of December, 1919, the Secretary of State observed that in his opinion the time had not yet arrived when it was either necessary or desirable to impose a rental tax on the Rural which might be thought by them to be the object of a consequence of the Rural taxes. The Secretary of State

In a despatch to the Secretary of State, dated the 9th of March, 1914, the Governor remarked that a system of the present system of native taxation would be found necessary in the near future, but he considered that this was not a matter of urgency and might profitably be held over until the organization of native administration had been effected. The Secretary of State agreed that the question might well be deferred. Sir Henry Belfield, Nov. 1914.

On the 28th of July, 1914, Sir Henry Belfield wrote that he considered the time had come when a tax should be imposed on the lands belonging to the pastoral tribes on the ground that the precautions taken by Government to prevent the spread of disease had enabled them to largely increase the number of their herds. He thought that the incidence of taxation should be such as to encourage agricultural industry and discourage pastoral production. Sir Charles appointed a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Hopewell (Chairman), McClellan, S. W. Cleveland and Tomlinson, to consider the subject. Owing, however, to the outbreak of war, the sittings of the Committee were delayed and were in fact never held. Sir Henry Belfield, Nov. 1914.

Mr. Hopewell considered the question in December, 1914, and the first three months of 1915, and submitted a report on the general question of native taxation on the 28th of April, 1915. In that part of his report which deals with the Rural Reserve, he considered that the Rural in the Rural Reserve presented, as regards occupation and taxation, a totally different problem from that encountered in considering the new mining agricultural tribes in the Protectorate. The Rural were pastoralists, whose needs of life, customs and requirements differed from those of agricultural natives. They required much more land than agriculturists, and had many farm inhabitants to the square mile. Mr. Hopewell, 28th April, 1915.

Statistics of the Rural Reserve estimated the population at 50,000 souls, the number of horned stock at 500,000 head, and of sheep and goats at 2,000,000 head, while the area of the reserve was approximately 4,000,000 acres. The annual taxes paid by the Rural amounted to Rs. 50,000 only. Mr. Hopewell quoted, for comparison, the case of three agricultural districts, whose total area was 2,100,000 acres, whose population was 600,000 souls, and which paid Rs. 600,000 in hut and poll tax.

The capitalized value of Rural stock was so large as to make the taxing needs about Rs. 600 per male, woman and child, and supposing that this capital amount taxed was Rs. 2 per cent. per annum, the annual exchange of the tribe would be worth Rs. 10 per head. The total personal needs were very small, while they paid less than one rupee each in annual taxes. It was therefore evident that the Rural did not contribute their fair share to the Protectorate revenue, and that some readjustment was necessary in their case.

In regard to the manner in which the Rural should be taxed, Mr. Hopewell observed that their nomadic habits and mode of holding land rendered the method of collecting revenue under a hut assessment a far more difficult matter than it was in the case of agricultural tribes. He also considered that any system of poll tax on able-bodied males would be equally unsatisfactory. Mr. Hopewell proposed a scheme which had been put forward by Mr. Cleveland and which he outlined as follows :—

In order to find out the approximate taxable value of the Rural, the law should be worked out on a percentage, based on the assessed commercial value of the land. The amount due would be collected in the form of a cattle tax (growing sheep and goats). The acreage of the reserve being one million acres, the commercial value being assessed at Rs. 2 per acre, a tax of 1 per cent. on the commercial value would produce a revenue of Rs. 20,000. This amount could be divided amongst the total number of cattle estimated, and would amount to 20 cents per head on half a million head of cattle. Mr. Hopewell considered that there would be considerable difficulty in counting the cattle, and suggested

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SECTION VII

THE MASAI EXTRA PROVINCIAL DISTRICT

GENERAL NOTE

Masailand constitutes an Extra Provincial District under an Officer in Charge, holding the powers of a Provincial Commissioner, with two District Commissioners, stationed at Kajiado and Narok. The legislation in force in other parts of the Colony applies to the District, but the Outlying District Ordinance, No. 25 of 1911, has also been applied to it, in order to provide a means for controlling immigration from other tribes, a matter to which, as will be subsequently shown, much importance is attached by Masai religionists. The area of the District is 13,177 square miles and the population was estimated in 1948 at 55,000.[1] The density is thus 3.4 per square mile.

The Masai District contains in its more northern section a considerable area of land which ranks for agricultural or pastoral purposes with parts of the neighbouring Highlands reserved for European use, though it is to be noted that the rainfall here is more variable than in the central part of the Highlands. The lower parts of the District have a lower and even more variable rainfall, with the result that there is an area, conservatively estimated at a little over 3,000 square miles, which is arid and for all practical purposes worthless.[2] But the value of the large area held by the Masai is not to be judged by its agricultural possibilities, for if the Masai no longer justify the characters assigned to them by history as "a virile tribe of predatory nomads," they have at all events maintained their traditional habit of life as a pastoral people, and though there is some cultivation in the Naivasha-Ngare area and also near Ngong, this forms only an administrative part of the District, and is for the most part carried out by Kikuyu immigrants on behalf of the local Masai.

It is of interest to note that in 1904 the number of cattle was estimated at only 50,000 and the sheep and goats at 60,000. This may have been an underestimate, though it must be realized that the country was still in some measure suffering from the effects of the great cattle-destroying epidemic of 1891, which had resulted such unmerciful results both on the numbers and the military power of the Masai. By 1914 the estimate had gone up to 600,000 head of cattle and over a million and half sheep and goats.[3] The Masai herds suffered severely in the drought of 1918 and 1919, when their losses of cattle were estimated at over a quarter of a million. But a recent estimate has put the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys. The further increase in the number of cattle is to some extent affected by the existence of fly, which is prevalent on the South Kavirondo boundary, in the extreme west, and also in the middle area, where the Kajiado and Narok Districts join. But if the present estimate of the stock is correct,

[1] Kenya Colony Blue Book, 1948, page 151.

[2] There is a summary of the physical conditions of the district by L. James at page 40 of Native Economy, 1924, together with a useful bibliography.

[3] Commissioner with Colonial Ministry of the Masai District, C. R. Dundas, 1918, page 9.

the Masai even, considering their small numbers, have a larger potential capital per head than any other tribe in East or Central Africa.

Practically the whole population may be said to belong to the Masai tribe, though there are a small number of immigrants, numbering rather less than one thousand in all, mainly per cent, being Kikuyu. As shown above, they are for the most part employed by the Masai in the cultivation of the small area of land used for agricultural purposes. There has been a certain amount of intermarriage, but the preservation of the country by the Kikuyu is viewed with distrust by the Masai, and three Alien Committees have lately been established in order to consider measures for the control of alien immigration. An area of 17 square miles (known locally as Ongaresumet) within the Masai Native Land Unit was set aside to cope for "squatters" displaced from European farms, most of whom are Kikuyu.[1] But this area will remain politically separate, and it will not affect the position of the Masai as a homogeneous population.

Early records refer to the existence in Masailand of a number of Dorobo, of whom Masai tradition speaks as the original inhabitants of the country. When Europeans first came into contact with the Masai, part of the Dorobo were still leading a primitive life in the bush, while part served the Masai as herdsmen and in some cases had small herds of their own. These people have, however, now been absorbed by the Masai and are now readily distinguishable from them.

THE MASAI TRIBE

Reference will be found in the Chapter on Tanganyika to the circumstances in which the Masai tribe, as it existed in 1890, was cut in two by the international boundary drawn between Kenya and Tanganyika.[2] The area then left to the Masai in Kenya, now estimated at 13,175 square miles, compares with the area of 18,470 square miles now held by the Tanganyika Masai, with an estimated population of 50,168, and a density of 1.2 per square mile. The proceedings as the result of which the Kenya Masai were in 1911 placed in occupation of their present area have had a prominent place in the controversies connected with the alienation of native lands in the Colony, but it will be sufficient to refer here to the facts as summarized in paragraphs 133 to 174 of the Report of the Land Commission of 1933.[3] The Masai lands are now held as a Native Land Unit under the terms of the Native Lands Trust Ordinance of 1938 and the Kenya (Native Areas) Order in Council 1939. There is, however, one fact which differentiates the Masai lands from those occupied by other tribes under the terms of this legislation, or those held by the Tanganyika Masai. Whatever the judicial value of the Agreements made with the Kenya Masai in 1904 and 1911, it is held, in the words used by the Governor of Kenya in 1918, that they "have the validity of a Treaty."[4] If so, the terms of the Order confirming the Agreement of 1911 constitute a moral obligation on the Government to reserve those lands for the exclusive use of the Masai, "so long

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[1] Report on Native Affairs 1939, page 14. For an account of the Ngongo Problem in Kenya, see page 14 of the same annual publication. Some of the Kikuyu are said to have established their right to the Ongaresumet.

[2] Chapter III, page 28.

[3] Cmd. 4556 (1934) page 28. For fuller details see Chapter VII of Administration and Political History of the Masai District, previously referred to.

[4] Despatch No. 40 dated 11 April, 1918. The Agreement of 1911 is printed on page 411 of the Report of the Land Commission previously referred to.

(1) Ilkongoro are Kamba. There is also a small group of Taveta, leading virtually a bushman life in the Lake Eyasi basin, to whom reference was made in Section 1.[1] There would appear to have been a movement both northward and eastward on the part of the tribe, who were previously restricted to a very small area by the Masai invasion of the early part of the century.

THE MASAI DISTRICT

(2) The Masai District forms the southern portion of the large block of country in Tanganyika and Kenya, extending to no less than 21,000 square miles, occupied by the Masai tribe, whose numbers were given in the 1931 Census as 48,000 in Kenya and as 27,000 in the 1948 Census in Tanganyika. There will be found in the Chapter dealing with Kenya Colony further reference to the tribal characteristics of the Masai, and it will be sufficient to give here only those facts which have a particular on the position they occupy in Tanganyika.[2]

(3) The southern movement of this tribe from the neighbourhood of Lake Rudolf seems to have come to an end about the middle of last century, but is apparently not to [illegible] on the south as the Great Ruaha River and even as Ulanga in the Kinga District, whence they were driven back by the Gogo and Hehe. There were many isolated Masai raids other than these, but these were in the main carried out by Kenya Masai, whose incursions were directed towards the coastal areas on the east, and indeed took them on occasion as far as Mombasa. The Masai settled in Tanganyika do not seem to have attempted a further movement of any importance into the neighbouring areas of the Territory.

(4) The Anglo-German Agreement of 1890 cut the Masai country into two parts, roughly equal in area, though the population remaining under the British jurisdiction was somewhat larger than that which fell under German rule. The result was to make an effective division between the Kenya and Tanganyika Masai, and though the two sections have retained a community of racial interest, this has not extended to the political field. Such political unity as the Masai people possessed had existed largely for war purposes, and in peace time political as apart from religious authority was dispersed among the headmen exercising control over the groups having a customary right of pasturage in particular localities. There was moreover nothing in the case of the Tanganyika Masai a motive which might have led them to identify themselves with the Kenya Masai, namely, the need for preserving their lands from alienation by Government for the benefit of Europeans. The troubles created in Kenya by the efforts of Europeans to secure possession of Masai lands[3] were not repeated in Tanganyika, where the Masai have remained unperturbed in the occupation of the country they held at the period when European rule was established.

(5) The present Masai District comprises, in the north, the Loliondo area, the dominant feature of which is the vast forested plain, with the outlier volcanoes which mark its southern end. In the centre, south of the B.B.W.d, the plateau type of country is characterised by volcanic hill masses, which provide a number of permanent water sources. In the South lie extensive thorn scrub steppes, with a low and very variable rainfall.

(6) Practically the whole of the area included in the District is used only for pastoral purposes. It [illegible] a mistake to imagine that the tribe was ever

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[1] See page 10.
[2] Page 10, Chapter 1.
[3] See the Administration and Political History of the Masai Reserve, C. W. Hobley, 1910

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An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System

By H. A. Forbrooke

PREFACE.

The accompanying notes do not pretend to give a balanced picture of the Masai social system. They were compiled in 1939 when the writer, after 4 years' service in the Masai District of Tanganyika was seconded to study the political system and to submit proposals on administrative reorganization. These latter are omitted from the present publication, but the chapters on History, the Laibon, the Age-Grade System, the Tribal Officials, and Clan and Family matters are presented in their order and in practically the same form as when originally submitted, and consequently refer to the position as it existed in 1939. This introduction and the conclusion are being written in 1948.

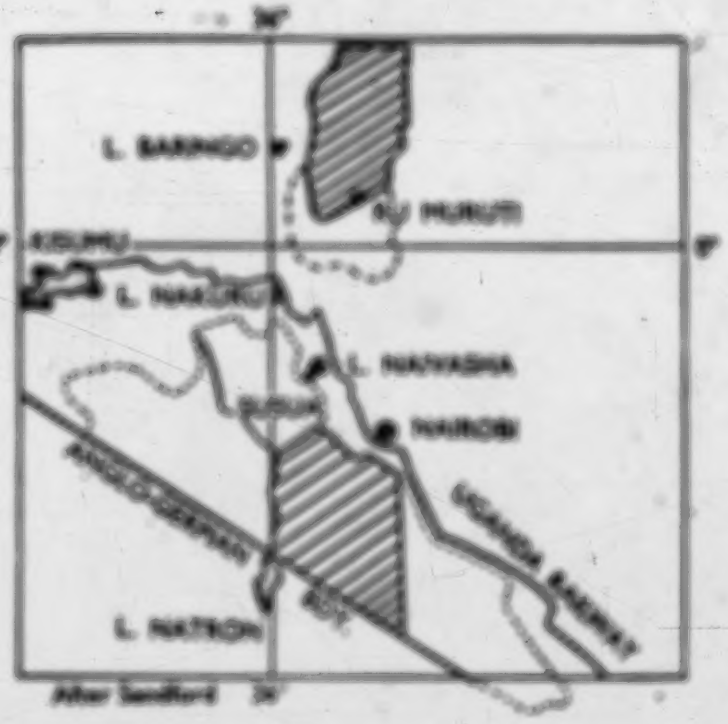
By reason of its origins this material has a heavy bias on the political side of the social organization; the purely social — birth, marriage and death customs — and the socio-economic — the cattle culture, land usage, etc. — leave a large field of interesting material for future study. It is hoped that one result of the publication of these notes will be to stimulate those at present serving in Masailand in whatever capacity, in both Kenya and Tanganyika, to take up these untouched branches of study in addition to correcting, bringing up-to-date and noting local divergences in this and other published material.

The Masai are known, by reputation or repute to the majority of those into whose hands the present publication will fall. Here it will suffice to say that they are a race of semi-nomadic pastoralists, of Nilo-Hamitic stock, occupying a large area of country on both sides of the Kenya-Tanganyika border. The census due to take place this month will reveal their true numbers, and perhaps the editor of News and Records will be in a position to quote an accurate figure before this appears in print. But the whole tribe probably does not exceed [illegible] adult males or [illegible] persons in all.* It has been frequently pointed out by its critics that the tribe occupied more land and has played a more important part in history than is justified by its numbers, but the same remarks apply to many strong-characterized and virile races.

To illustrate this paper some of the numerous photographs which I took during my sojourn in Masailand are reproduced, though they have perhaps suffered through time and inadequate storage. In addition those interested will find that the works marked in the bibliography with an asterisk give an adequate pictorial representation of Masai life. And finally 400 feet of 16 mm. cine film, kindly edited and 'duped' by the Colonial Film Unit, has been deposited with the Information Officer, Dar-es-Salaam, from whom it may be obtained on loan. Of particular interest are shots

* The Director of Statistics, E.A. High Commission, has kindly supplied the following preliminary estimate figures of the Census enumeration: Total number of Masai in the Masai districts of Kenya and Tanganyika — 66,000, of which 16,000 are males — Ed.

THE MAASAI RESERVES



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[44] Population figures for 1919 and 1941 were estimated as follows, the 1941 figures including an estimated 10,000 Dorobo:

	Kenya	Tanganyika	Total
1919	40,000	—	—
1941	46,000	Ngong: 17,000 Ngorongoro: 27,000 44,000	134,000

[illegible]

The [illegible] census gives the following figures:

		Male	Female	Total
Kenya	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

		Male	Female	Total
Tanganyika Territory	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

This shows only a small increase over the 1931 estimate for the Kenya Masai, when 10,000 Samburu are deducted, but it doubles the previous estimate for the Samburu and shows a substantial increase in the Tanganyika Masai.

The livestock estimates for the Kenya Masai are:

	Cattle	Goats and sheep	Donkeys
1918 [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1948 [illegible]	[illegible] to [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The figure for cattle among the Tanganyika Masai are 800,000,[illegible] but these may be underestimated. They vary in fact from about 600,000 to 750,000 according to season and other factors.[illegible]

The total area of Maasailand in Kenya and Tanganyika is about 61,000 square miles or 39,040,000 acres (10,000 square miles or 6,400,000 acres in Kenya, and 29,000 square miles or 18,240,000 acres in Tanganyika). After deducting 3,000 square miles or 1,920,000 acres from the Kenya Land Unit as being unsuitable because of bush or tsetse fly, the Kenya Masai have about three acres per head of stock which is shared with sheep and goats, whereas in country such as theirs cattle alone require anything from three to five acres per head, owing to the low rainfall, poor grazing, scarcity of rivers, and frequent droughts. Their Land Unit is also a Game Reserve.

Sources:- Sandford, 1919; E.A. Census, 1948.

PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

At the height of their power in the middle of the 19th century the Masai occupied a stretch of country which covered some 500 miles from north to south, and, at its widest, 150 miles from east to west. The northern limit was approximately Lake Baringo (now small flats), 20 miles south of Lake Rudolf; the southern, Longido, near

[illegible] H. H. Page-Jones, "Wyns vs Maasilani," 1948, 1948, p. 40.
[illegible] Information from Mr. W. A. Robinson.

13 Huntingford G.W.B. (no date) 1953 FL.12 Maasai FL.12
Agricultural Peoples

In 1902 the O.Chamus numbered about 2,000 (3,400 according to the 1948 Census), and though they are of Maasai stock, being descended from a Laikipian section called O.Lenges, they have adopted a variety of religion including Samburu, and became cattle people. According to one account they had originally four villages on the south east of Lake Baringo, but two were destroyed on account of Maasai raids, and some of the inhabitants, having lost all their cattle, took refuge on Kokwa Island in Lake Baringo. They are expert swimmers and possess canoes, though non Chamus are seen to them. Their dwellings are round huts with rather high pitched and somewhat conical thatched roofs, and walls of grass and sticks. They are reported to have permanent villages known as "Kyongo Kokwa," and "Kyongo Ndege" to the North valley a few miles south of Lake Baringo; the steeply pitched huts almost touch each other, and the small enclosed gardens are surrounded by strong palisades.

In general the O.Chamus keep as close as they can to the dress and customs of the pastoral Maasai; they have circumcision and dances and other ceremonies, and practise the "ime-tore" system of the pastoralists, though without the moranism. Today they have some 180,000 acres of poor land, most of it unfit for cultivation, but they have acquired, since the establishment of British rule, some 12,000 or more head of cattle, and 30,000 goats and sheep, thus achieving in part the ambition of all O.Chamus to become cattle people again. In the time of Thomson and Fisher, however, Kyongo was an important station on the caravan route, and was thereby noted that they had a large extent of cultivated land. This was divided into blocks (by ways of rivers or four miles square) which were interspersed by irrigation channels bringing water from dams across the river Ngorok. This system was still working in Chandler's time, who says that the opening of the main ditch was performed with the sacrifice of a sheep at the mouth of the ditch.[1] Besides agriculture, the O.Chamus fish[2] and hunted, using the bow, and spears of bolt and Turkana type.

It is possible that the fishing group called O.Mobi who live on the east shore of Lake Baringo is to be classed as O.Chamus.[3] They subsist on a diet of fish alone which, when Tribbi and von Höhnel saw them in 1888, had produced an ill-effects, but it seems now to have resulted in considerable physical degeneration, and in the appearance of rickets in all members of the group. There seems to be a good deal of Dahlak blood in them.

The O.Arawa around Mount Nero are a large tribe of agricultural Maasai, originally of Nyeru stock, but now accepted by the pastoral Maasai as worthy of recognition as a group which can pay and receive cattle for compensation in cases of homicide. The Kwegoya in Southern Nandiland are also to be classed as agricultural Masai.[4]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Senior Classes

Life Cycle

From birth to circumcision a male is a boy, *el-aiyiok*. At circumcision[5] he enters an age-set and becomes a warrior, *el-murani*, [6] one who is circumcised,[7] and may associate with uncircumcised girls. At the *el-gedon* ceremony he becomes an elder, *el-moruo*. Warriors may marry when they become senior warriors. After the *el-gedon* the newly made elders attend to their family concerns, and get wives

[1] A. B. Chandler, (1911), 53, pp. 49-50.
[2] A. J. Hyder and T. G. Fyfe, "The Chamus," (1911, 1947, LXVIII, p. 167), von Höhnel, 51, pp. 196-98.
[3] The people known as Ilyiforo in northern Turkanaville are not Maasai, but people of Nyeru stock who have adopted them.
[4] There is some uncertainty as to the age at which boys are circumcised. Hollis gives the limits as 10-15 years, Huntingford gives the lower limit as 16 or 17.

14 Orr & Gilks D-4 (no date) 1931 FL12 Masai FL12
Kikuyu FL 10

The information collected directly was supplemented by the replies to two questionnaires issued by the Medical Department to district medical officers, medical missionaries, chiefs of tribes and others interested in the investigation. One questionnaire dealt with the dietary customs of natives and the other with the incidence and etiology of ulcers.

II.—FIELD WORK.

(a) Dietary Customs and Incidence of Disease in the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves.

Dr. J. W. Foster was sent out from the Rowett Research Institute to carry out this part of the investigation, and Dr. J. C. J. Callanan, of the Medical Service in Kenya, was specially detailed to work with him for the first five months.

The two reserves chosen for the investigation were the Kikuyu and Masai, the choice being made on account of the fact that the reserves adjoin while the dietary customs of the tribes are very different, the Akikuyu* being almost exclusively vegetarian and the Masai chiefly carnivorous.

The two Reserve areas were visited alternately during a period of over a year and a half, each trip occupying two or three months. Samples of all foodstuffs in common use were collected and despatched to the Rowett Institute for analysis. The samples consisted of articles of diet in the raw state, cooked foods, edible earths, salt substitutes, and natural mineral waters used in cooking.

A physical examination was made of 6,349 Kikuyu and 1,546 Masai† adult natives of both sexes and all ages. The examination was made under eighteen heads, including stature, weight, chest, abdomen and calf measurements; presence of anæmia; condition of teeth and gums; general physical and muscular development; strength as indicated by the dynamometer; presence of hernia, splenomegaly; ulcers.

A similar examination was made of 2,500 Kikuyu and 254 Masai children. The special object of this examination was to compare the tribal incidence, during the growth period, of osseous deformities, dental caries, periodontitis, anæmia, and general signs of malnutrition.

The subjects examined for physical condition were taken at random from the healthy section of the community in all parts of the Reserves. Great care was taken to exclude any sick native who presented himself. Apart from this, no selection was made, and the records may be taken as representatives of the average native of the Reserves.

An estimation was made of the diseases prevailing in the two tribes. Hospital returns were analysed, but, as it became apparent that, for

* The prefix "A" in Akikuyu has a collective sense, the term "Akikuyu" referring to the tribe as a whole, while the term "Kikuyu" has only an adjectival significance.

† It should be noted that the estimated populations of the Kikuyu and Masai Reserves at the end of 1929 were respectively 798,934 and 48,547.

175 but so was the absolute reign of the Masai. The organisa-
175 tion of the sections was much broken up. Many pastoral
*237 Masai had lost their herds and had taken to hunting or
cultivation. Some had been taken in by surrounding
tribes and others taken as captives by them. A great
many had died or been killed in the combination of famine,
• [161] rinderpest, smallpox, and civil war. Therefore the
population of Masai in Masailand around 1900 must have
been quite low. Its lowest ebb probably came around
1892 or 1893, and there had been some recovery in the
next decade. Some Masai had started to rebuild their
[648] herds by stealing cattle. Others bought them by
[921] working for the Germans helping to subdue other tribes.

175 It is uncertain what the fate of the Masai would
648 have been without the intervention of the Europeans.
Those most afflicted with Masai-itis insist that the
Masai were recovering rapidly and that they would have
risen to greater power but for the Europeans, who held
them down and took their land. Those on the other side
say that the Masai were a dying race and that only the
protection of the Europeans enabled them to maintain
their way of life. The truth doubtless lies between the
extreme views. Even Hollis (1905) who was certainly not
anti-Masai felt that they would have to alter their way
of life if they were to survive.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

[175 164] In terms of total population the Masai have greatly prospered under European administration. It has been estimated that at the peak of Masai power, before 1890, the total population of Masai was around 45,000 (Stigand, 1913). By the mid 1930's they had recovered from their series of disasters and their numbers were estimated at about 58,000 (Jacobson, 1938). The census of 1948 gave the total Masai population as 107,309 (Fosbrooke, 1948). The most recent census places the population at about 117,000.

[178 648] Most of the Masai prosperity in the 20th century has taken place under the English administration. In 1891 the boundaries of the German Territory of Tanganyika stopped short of what is now Tanganyika Masailand, but it was included in the German "sphere of interest" [459] (Rieppert, 1891). Subsequently, apparently because there were so few Masai living in Masailand following their multiple disasters, the Germans created a Masai Reserve that was mostly south of an east-west line through Arusha. This division left the Ngorongoro Highlands, the Loliondo area, and the highlands near Eastern Masailand free for European settlement and displaced the Masai living there. [131] This action further scattered the remnants of the Masai, some of whom moved north into Kenya and others south into

21:Huxley G.T-5 (no date) 1960 FL:11 Lon. Mega. FUT

million head of scrub cattle, and 6m.,000 sheep and goats. They *could* export fat steers and lambs, but have done next to nothing to improve the quality of their animals. This is because they do not need the cash. There are old men living in mud hovels with little but ear-rings, a spear and a blanket who could at any minute realise several thousand pounds for their cattle. Scarcely one of them could not afford a motor-car if he wanted one, probably a Jaguar at that. The plain fact is they do not want motor-cars, or beds, or kitchen sinks, or radios, or refrigerators, or washing machines: they just want cattle, which they have, and which the processes of nature will increase for them without their having to do any disagreeable work.

It is an impasse. The whole machinery of modern society, modern trade, modern development, has been halted by the Masai's refusal to keep up with the Jones's, or the Kennons in this case. It is like a great Britannia aircraft grounded by a midge in the works. Modern civilisation runs on avarice as cars on petrol, and if there is no pump where you can fill up with avarice, you simply stay where you are.

But even the Masai are not really free of avarice: it merely takes a different form. If they do not want bicycles and trousers, they do want more cattle, and this has led them into a great error. Instead of rejecting everything the West offered them, they accepted the hypodermic syringe of the vets. First of all the vets put an end to rinderpest, and then, rather less successfully, dealt with various other diseases that were keeping their herds in check.

No doubt it would have needed superhuman self-denial on the part of the Masai to have rejected this magical means of ending the periodic epidemics that had wiped out all but a remnant of their cherished herds. Yet these were the means by which nature had kept herds and habitat in balance. Vegetation, controlled by constant factors like rainfall and soil structure, cannot multiply as creatures of the animal kingdom can, and do. The fact remains that to accept the vet's syringe was fatal to the Masai, and to offer it to them, as the Government did, without also insisting upon some means of keeping down the livestock population, was an act of remarkable